THE MSS OF ROBERT GROSSETESTE'S *DE CESSATIONE LEGALIUM*

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A study of the MSS of a given work usually belongs most properly in the Introduction to an edition of that work. However, the MSS of Robert Grosseteste's *De cessatione legalium* are of sufficient interest that they merit a fuller study than can be accomplished in a few paragraphs of an Introduction.[1]

De cessatione legalium was written by Grosseteste around the year 1235, not 1231 as is traditionally claimed, and it was an academic treatise addressed to university-trained Christians. There is no evidence that it had any connection with any project for the conversion of England's Jews or that it was intended as "a companion piece to the slightly earlier *De decem mandatis,*" as has frequently been asserted.[2] Its purpose is to prove that the obligation to observe the Jewish *legalia* ended with the Incarnation, and that to continue the old observance under the new dispensation is not only unnecessary but heretical, since it implies that the Incarnation is insufficient for the redemption of mankind. The treatise is divided into four books, or *Particulae* as Grosseteste calls them, each attacking the question from a different angle, but all coming to the same conclusion.

Several things are striking about the MSS of *De cessatione legalium.* First is the clear evidence of considerable use, in the form of study outlines, readers' notes, and identification of biblical citations, extending into the eighteenth century. Second is the obvious care which was taken to make the text accurate. All have at least one corrector. Errors are noted and often corrected in the text itself, between the lines, and in the upper, lower, and side margins. Much

[1] We have prepared a critical edition of the *De cessatione legalium,* which is scheduled for publication, along with Grosseteste's *De decem mandatis,* in 1984 by Oxford University Press, one of the British Academy's series Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi.

[2] Arthur M. Lee, *Robert Grosseteste's De cessatione legalium. A Critical Edition from the Extant MSS,* Diss. University of Colorado, 1942, p. 2; S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253,* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 121; F.S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln* (London, 1899), pp. 99 ff.; Lee M. Friedman, *Robert Grosseteste and the Jews* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp. 21 ff.; and Samuel Pegge, *The Life of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln* (London, 1793), pp. 31, 269.

Manuscripta, XXVIII (1984), 3-15.

material omitted by the scribes is supplied in this manner. In many cases there is more than one exemplar, and readings from several traditions appear. This considerably complicates the building of a *stemma codicum,* since it obscures the direct dependence of the MSS upon each other.

There are presently known to be eighteen MSS of *De cessatione legalium,* as well as one copy which has been lost from Brit. Lib. (MS Cotton Otho D X).[3] Two of these, *Lo* and *K*, are mutilated, two others, *A* and *W,* are incomplete, and two, R_5 and *S*, are excerpts.

B- Bodleian MS lat. th. C17 was acquired by the Bodleian in 1947, and it presently contains two originally separate portions. The first, folios 1^{r}-157^{v}, contains William of Auvergne's *De universo corporali et spirituali.* The second contains Grosseteste's *De cessatione legalium* (folios 158^{r}-189^{v}) and *Hexaemeron* (folios 190r-243^{v}). It was written for Grosseteste in a beautiful mature English gothic hand, undoubtedly after he had become bishop of Lincoln and had the means to commission such works. It would in all likelihood have been copied from his autograph. Grosseteste himself corrected it extensively from beginning to end, and he added paragraph signs, catchwords (which serve almost as chapter titles), and identifications of scriptural citations (book and chapter), as well as a few of his concordantial signs[4] and occasional Greek words. He also frequently wrote a word more clearly in the margin and on several occasions wrote the correct word in the text where his scribe had left a blank space. This codex must therefore be given a high degree of authority, particularly in the case of a word or phrase corrected or added by Grosseteste. But the scribe was not especially careful, as witness the large number of corrections the author had to make, and Grosseteste was not the best of proofreaders. Therefore, in spite of the authority this codex must be accorded, it does contain errors.

We know little about the history of the codex. It belonged to Roger de Plimp(ton), Rector of Enborne, Berkshire, Proctor of the

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[3] The MSS of *De cessatione legalium* are listed in S.H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste,* pp. 121-22, and the major collections of Grosseteste's works are described and discussed on pp. 10-22 of the same work. For the sigla used in this article, please refer to the *stemma codicum.*

[4] On Grosseteste's concordantial signs, see S.H. Thomson, "Grosseteste's Topical Concordance of the Bible and the Fathers, *Speculum* 9 (1934), 139-44 and "Grosseteste's Concordantial Signs," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 9 (1955), 39-53; and R.W. Hunt, "The Library of Robert Grosseteste," in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop,* pp. 121-45 and "Manuscripts Containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste," *Bodleian Library Record* 4 (1953), 244-46.

University of Oxford in 1267.[5] It came into the Bodleian collection from the library of Naworth Castle, Brampton, Cumberland, through a sale at Sotheby's on October 28, 1947.[6]

It was extensively used. In addition to Grosseteste's marginalia, there are at least three and perhaps four other hands represented by the marginal notes. One of these adds material to Grosseteste's notes. Others carry on discussions on the matter contained in the text, call attention to notable points, or number the arguments. One of these hands has written an extensive note, now largely illegible because of fading and cutting by the binder, on folio 179^{v}, and has added the remark: "Nota: Hoc deficit alius liber," referring to the words: "omnivolens . . . auctoritas" in III, v, 4, just below a section of several lines which *B*'s scribe had omitted and Grosseteste had supplied in the margin. The material referred to though is not lacking in any of the extant codices.

Pe- Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS 244, folios 1^{r}-49^{r}, is written in a large, clear, formal gothic bookhand of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Although Thomson dates it as first half of the fourteenth century, there is some reason to consider that it is slightly earlier. Stylistically, the script is a vigorous English gothic of the period when that hand was just beginning to lose its integrity. It is slightly rounder than a pure gothic but otherwise displays few degenerative characteristics. The *d* is Carolingian or uncial, never looped; nor are the *l* or *b* looped. Both long and round *s* occur. The *r* coming off a round letter does not begin with a superfluous upward stroke. The scribe also uses several older abbreviation signs: ⁝ regularly for *est*, and sometimes H for *enim*. A date of the late thirteenth century is quite feasible for this codex.

Pe is copied directly from *B*, and the copying extended even to the format and marginalia. At the end of *Particula* I, *Pe* leaves two and two-thirds lines blank and devoid of space fillers, just as *B* does. The corrector has written in the lower margin: "Nichil deficit scriptum ante Quia prima, sed in exemplari fuit spacium vacuum et ideo sic est hic." And at the end of *Particula* II he writes: "Nichil deficit in fine columpne, sed spacium vacuum in exemplari fuit ut hic." The scribe of *Pe* also copied Grosseteste's extensive marginalia, and at one point (I, vi, 12), where he did not have room in his own margin for what Grosseteste had written, he put it at the bottom of

[5] A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 1957-1959), III, 1488.

[6] "Medieval Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library," Bodleian Library, Oxford.

the column keyed to the text. He also copied in his own margin, exactly as it was in *B,* the words: *non solummodo,* which the scribe of *B* had written, for what reason we cannot discern; and the words in Greek characters: eolbitoun prima which may or may not be in Grosseteste's hand.

Great care was taken by the scribe and corrector to make its text accurate. The scribe corrects many of his own mistakes. Errors are marked by a small cross and are nearly all corrected. The corrector has added and deleted material throughout the work, between the lines and in the upper, lower, and side margins. At the beginning of the work, the scribe often shortened Grosseteste's formulas introducing a quotation, but the corrector has restored the original readings. There are inevitably some instances of undetected miscopying and word reversal, but these are remarkably few.

The value of *Pe* is greater than that of most doubles for two reasons. First, much of Grosseteste's marginalia in *B* has been cut off by the binder, and the evidence of *Pe* enables us to restore it with confidence instead of relying on conjecture. And secondly, *Pe* is witness to the extent of the marginalia at the time it was written. Apparently it contained only those in Grosseteste's hand at that time. Many more were added later in the fourteenth century. This codex shows signs of considerable use. Various hands have written study outlines and comments in the margins, indicating the contents and structure of the treatise.

Lo- Lincoln College, Oxford, MS 54, folios 1^{r}-15^{v}, is about the same age as *B* and is written in a similar hand. It once belonged to the Oxford Franciscans, and it was seen and annotated by Thomas Gascoigne (1403-1458). One such note on folio 15v at the end of *De veritate* reads: "Explicit sancte memorie opus domini lincolniensis episcopi, scilicet doctoris in sacra theologia oxonie, ut patet in litera universitatis oxonie et in sermone ipsius domini lincolniensis de levitis." Unfortunately, all of *Particula* I and the beginning of *Particula* II are now missing, thus depriving us of a check on several questionable readings of *B* in *Particula* I. It was very carefully written, much more so than *B,* and was corrected by the scribe himself in the margins. The only reason its authenticity is less than that of *B* is that it was not corrected by Grosseteste. It is very possibly older. *Lo* exerted little influence on the MS tradition, only the carelessly copied *T* being related to it and only at several removes. But if quotations from *De cessatione legalium* should be discovered in the writings of English Franciscans, they should match the readings of *Lo.*

T- Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.15.20, cols. 527-674, was

the manuscript used by Wharton at the request of Edward Brown in his investigation of the full length of the *De cessatione* after the appearance of the printed edition of 1658.[7] It is unique in being the only extant manuscript which descends from *Lo* rather than *B*. Because it shares many variants with *Pe* we are led be believe it was copied from a manuscript now lost, which we have symbolized by the letter *t*. Writing carelessly in a rather poor hand, the scribe made use of numbered columns and line count letter designations (a,b,c,d,e) between the columns to facilitate the task of reference. He extends the vertical stem of one letter in each column (*e.g.*, h,l, b, or s) into the top margin and expands it into a feather-like embellishment. Full stop marks are employed. The initial letters are foliated, and in the case of *Particula* I the artist filled in a *Q* rather than an *F* to produce *Querunt* for *Fuerunt*. There are but few corrections or notes and many omissions. This is the only manuscript which concludes with an abstract of the argument of the tract. The origin of the manuscript is unknown, but it was once in the possession of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (1540-1614). We date it late in the fourteenth century.

R- British Library MS Royal 6.E.V, folios 185^{r}-211^{v} is a beautiful large (17 x 11-3/4 inches) vellum codex written in a small, neat, regular English hand of about 1375. There are rulings for columns of commentary in the margins, the capitals are exquisitely illuminated, and there is a portrait of Grosseteste on folio 6. This is one of the most extensive collections of Grosseteste's works, and it was written with considerable care, although its exemplar was not the best and it does not seem to have been compared to any other MSS of *De cessatione legalium*. It is systematically corrected throughout, usually by the scribe, and it contains a good deal of its own marginalia, as well as Grosseteste's marginalia for *Particula*. I. The note: "Liber ecclesie sancte Marie de Merton," in a hand of the later fourteenth century indicates that it belonged to Merton Priory, Surrey at that time.

E- Eton College MS 117, folios 1^{r}-85^{r}, is written in a neat, but not formal, English hand of about 1375. M. R. James reported that it contained the note: "Liber magistri Johannis de Roverton, canonici,"[8] but this is now illegible. In the late fifteenth century it

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[7] Edward Brown, *Appendix ad Fasciculum Rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, 2 vols. (London, 1690), II, 246.

[8] M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College* (Cambridge, 1895). See N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1977), II, 726-28.

belonged to Nicolas Kempston, who had given it, probably to Eton, for the training of priests, as is attested by a note on the verso of the flyleaf: "Liber quondam magistri Nicholai Kempston anno domini 1477, numquam vendendus sed libere occupandus a sacerdotibus instructis ad predicandum verbum dei successive quamdiu duraverit secundum ultimam voluntatem defuncti. Orate igitur pro anima eius." In any case, it was at Eton by 1499, since it was annotated by Robert Elyot, vice-provost of Eton, who died in that year. Its text is very close to that of *R,* and it contains Grosseteste's marginalia in a form very similar to that of *R* written in the hand of the scribe. It also contains other marginalia written by a different hand. It has been meticulously corrected against its exemplar, and it has also been compared to a much superior MS, perhaps our beta, in a number of instances.

P- Prague, Nat. mus. MS XII E. 5 folios 27^{r}-39^{v}, is a paper codex written in a tiny idiosyncratic south German or Bohemian hand of no later than 1350. It contains a large number of Grosseteste's works and gives a very good text. It is the most satisfactory example of the beta family; it is probably the oldest of this group and closest to the common exemplar of the family. It also contains Grosseteste's marginalia in a form closer to *B* and *Pe* than to *R* and *E,* and it is copiously supplied with its own marginalia. It records a number of alternate readings, but in the text rather than in the margins, and it has been corrected in the margins by the scribe, who was probably a scholar copying these works for his own use. We are obliged to Servus Gieben, O.F.M. Cap. for lending us his microfilm of the portion of this codex containing *De cessatione legalium.*

M- Merton College, Oxford, MS 82, folios 106^{r}-150^{v}, was carelessly written in a poor hand in double columns. It was completed before 1429 and we date it late in the fourteenth century. Initial letters are provided for *Particulae* I and II, the former with interior foliation, but the letters for Particula III and IV were never added, though spaces were left for them. Even though the text of this codex is quite poor, it contains additions, corrections, and alternate readings in the margins, and there are many marginalia in a seventeenth-century hand. As fate would have it, this poor version of the *De cessatione* was one of the MSS upon which the printed edition of 1658 was based.

L- Lincoln Cathedral MS 180, folios 89^{r}-120^{r}, is cognate to *M,* with which it is nearly contemporary. The scribe of *L* is more careful, writes in a small but clear hand, and has corrected his text. Another hand has supplied much material omitted, usually by homoeoteleuton, from *M, E, R,* and sometimes R_7 and *P* as well.

The manuscript is of vellum, and the initial letters of the *particulae* are foliated, the decoration being extended into the margins. Full stop marks are also decorative.

R_7- Once in the possession of Westminster Abbey, British Library MS Royal 7.F.II, folios 121^{r}-167^{v}, is written in double columns in a bold English hand with strong gothic elements. Initial letters and full stop marks in red and blue adorn the folia, which are fairly alive with linear drawings, usually incorporating faces, which are used to bracket notes and important passages. These decorations and rather sparse notations, together with floral drawings and "doodles" of other kinds which are found in the margins, seem to be the work of an annotator of a later date. The scribe, writing in the middle of the fourteenth century, seems to have had difficulty keeping his mind on the text. He also had the annoying habit of leaving mistakes unmarked and writing the phrase over again correctly, either immediately afterwards or a line or two later, when he realized what he had done. Nevertheless, he signed his name (Johannes Plenus Amoris) and was the only one of our scribes to do so. In spite of its attractiveness in many respects, R_7 is also a poor version of the tract.

Q- Queen's College, Oxford, MS 312, folios 3^{r}-38^{r}, was written in double columns in the mid-fourteenth century in a poor English hand by a careless scribe. On folio 122^{v} is an erased inscription: "Liber Ricardi C...g^{i} quem emit anno r.r. Henrici IIII post conquestum 9° pro ii marcis a fratre Johanne W...fratre ordinis minorum et valet hic liber xlvi s., viii d."[9] There are decorated initial letters at the beginnings of *Particulae* I and IV, but no such notice is given to the beginnings of *Particulae* II and III. Full stops are noted within marks throughout the text. The margins are heavily annotated in several hands, one of which is eighteenth century. This learned annotator labeled the beginning of *Particula* III as *Particula* II, but aside from that did a great service by inserting numerous biblical references. One wonders if this might not be the work of Pegge or another of the scholars of that century who were interested in Grosseteste and his *De cessatione legalium.* Several corrections are made in a better hand of a somewhat earlier date than that of the scribe, perhaps that of a senior overseeing the work, and a somewhat later hand has occasionally supplied omissions, apparently by context alone, and not from another exemplar. The notes are of several kinds: contents, study outlines, topics of special interest, cor-

[9] N.R. Ker, "Thomas Allen's Manuscripts," *The Bodleian Library Record,* II, no. 27, p. 212.

rections and additions. The annotators make use of pointing hands with curious fingers and curvilinear lines to mark passages of import.

F- Harvard University Library MS Judaica 22, folios 1^{r}-30^{v}, is written in a small and indifferently formed English hand of around 1325. Its text is only fair. It is corrected and annotated in a contemporary hand and contains additional marginalia in several fourteenth and fifteenth-century hands. It has been supplied with identifications of biblical citations (book, chapter, and verse) in a modern hand, probably of the eighteenth century. The most interesting thing about this codex is its succession of private owners, beginning with Peter le Neve Nerroy, and including Samuel Pegge, the eighteenth-century biographer of Grosseteste, Sir Thomas Phillipps, Thomas Martin, and Lee M. Friedman, author of *Robert Grosseteste and the Jews,* who bequeathed it to Harvard.

K- Cambridge University Library MS Kk.iv.4, folios 1^{r}-20^{v}, must originally have been a complete copy of the tractate, although it now lacks almost the whole of *Particula* I between folios 1^{D} and 2^{A}. The break and resumption are abrupt and are not the result of abbreviation. Other such *lacunae* occur in this manuscript after the conclusion of *De cessatione,* which indicates that the volume suffered heavy damage or dissolution at some time in its history. This tall, thin quarto of paper folia is written with care in double columns in a small, clear English hand of about 1450. Space was left for the insertion of embellished capital letters at the beginning of each of the four *particulae.* Little is known of its history. In fact, with the exception of *F,* little is known about the origin and tradition of any of the other manuscripts of the alpha family.

Mg- Magdalen College, Oxford, MS lat. 3, folios 1^{r}-103^{v}, is written in a good, clear hand of the early fifteenth century. The initial letters for each of the *particulae* are foliated and the margins of those folia are decorated, especially on folio 1^{r}. No other work is included in this quarto volume. It is a careful piece of work and a better version of the tractate than others of its family because it was corrected by the scribe against a superior manuscript. Corrections and additions are usually made in the margin, but are occasionally entered above the line.

S and R_5- Two of our manuscripts, British Library MSS Sloane 683, folios 22^{v}-25^{v}, 29^{r}-32^{r}, 43^{v} (*S*), and Royal 5.C.III, folios 264^{A}—267^{C} (R_5), are composed of excerpts, but they are not directly related to one another. The Sloane version is much the shorter of

the two. Though its closest connection is with *er,* Sloane 683 has also been influenced by *lm,* with which it shares numerous readings. It is written in a bold, heavy English hand with cursive tendencies, and we date it early in the fifteenth century. Unfortunately little is known of its origin or tradition. Additions and corrections, few in number, are inserted above the line. There are no marginal notes.

MS Royal 5.C.III, on the other hand, is clearly among the manuscripts of the *k mg* family. Although it shares some variant readings with *T, P,* and *M,* these are very likely fortuitous. We believe R_5 to have been copied from *Mg* in the first half of the fifteenth century. Writing in double columns in a rather crowded but sharp English hand, the scribe has incorporated material from *Particulae* I, II, and IV, less than one column having been given to the extract from *Particula* II. The margins are annotated, but largely with subject headings. There is a suggestion of a study outline on folio 264^{D}. The notes are boxed, while the few additions and corrections to the text, also in the margins, are not.

We can trace the tradition of R_5 over four centuries with some degree of certainty. It was at one time in the possession of Archbishop Cranmer (1489-1556), later passing to a John Pye, who sold it to T. Eyburhale. Ker prints a note quoted by Casley,[10] but now lost, which reads: "Liber T. Eyburhale, emptus a Ioanne Pye pro 27s. 6d. Do Henrico Mosie, quondam scolari meo, si contingat eum presbyterari; aliter erit liber Domini Iohannis Sory, sic quod non vendatur, sed transeat inter cognitos meos, si fuerint aliqui inventi; sin autem, ab uno presbytero ad alium." This Lord John Sory is probably to be identified with John Scory (d. 1585), sometime Bishop of Chichester and later Bishop of Hereford, but this is not certain. Later in the sixteenth century, however, the manuscript is known to have come into the possession of John, Lord Lumley (1534?-1609). Lord Lumley married into the fitzAlan/Howard family, who were devout Roman Catholics, and Bishop Scory is known to have had strong Romanist sympathies. Upon Lord Lumley's death almost the whole of his library was bought by James I for his son Henry, Prince of Wales. Upon the death of the prince, his library became part of the Royal Collection until that collection was presented to the British Museum by George III. Composed of excerpts as it is, R_5 rather surprisingly includes the *explicit prima pars,* peculiar to the *f k mg* family. Neither *S* nor R_5 is embellished in any way.

A and *W*- Another pair of our manuscripts, Bodleian MS Archdeacon Selden. B.8, folios 304^{r}-314^{v} (*A*) and Worcester Cathedral

[10] *Loc. cit.*

MS F.152, folios 39A-49C (*W*), share the distinction of being incomplete copies of the treatise. *A*, written on paper in a seventeenth-century hand, is the latest of the manuscripts. Its exemplar was none of the extant MSS. The scribe has copied the whole of *Particula* I but changed the word *particule* in the concluding sentence to *tractatus,* an error which Edward Brown, an avid student of Grosseteste in the late seventeenth century, was quick to note.[11] A collation of *A* with other MSS and with the printed edition of 1658 shows that the printed edition was predicated on *A* as the basic text, and *M,* which the editor collated with *A*. It is in the alpha family with strong affinities to *Mg*, and it shares several readings, perhaps fortuitously, with MSS in the beta tradition.

The MS apparently passed from the transcriber to Archdeacon Selden; Selden then bequeathed it to Sir Matthew Hale, who Edward Brown said was responsible for having it printed.[12] The edition of 1658, however, states that it was published by Bruno Ryves, who also wrote the Preface.[13] Ryves was Registrar of the order of the Garter and Dean of Chichester.[14]

Bound in old white leather over oak boards, *W* is written in double columns on vellum. The mid-fourteenth-century hand is small, and both letters and lines tend to be crowded. Legibility is further hampered by the poor quality of the ink. The initial letters at the beginnings of *Particulae* I and II are foliated, with curvilinear decoration extending into the margins. The sparse marginal notes and corrections virtually disappear after the fifth folio. Although *W* is primarily related to *er*, it also has close affinities with *P* and shares variant readings with *F, K, Mg, T,* and *Q*. The text terminates abruptly near the beginning of *Particula* II. The fact that three-quarters of a folio is left blank gives one the impression that the intention had been to transcribe the entire treatise but that some circumstance arose which altered that plan. One has visions of an old scribe in the midst of his daily task being suddenly taken to his eternal reward, but we will never know the truth of the matter. However, the character of the transcription, its numerous errors and omissions, which seem to grow worse as the work proceeds, lends perhaps a shred of possibility to such a speculation.

Although we offer a *stemma codicum* here, the reader should

[11] Edward Brown, *Fasc. rerum expet. et fug.*, I. 247.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 246.
[13] "Edente Brunone Ryves, STP," Grosseteste, *De cessatione legalium* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1658).
[14] Samuel Pegge, *The Life of Robert Grosseteste,* p. 269.

realize that it is only schematic and should not be considered a literal representation of the MSS affiliations except in a few cases. We assume that the archetype was Grosseteste's autograph, since several of the copying errors in *B* and *Lo* are reasonable misreadings of Grosseteste's hand by a man trained in the gothic script. There must have been three copies made directly from the autograph, two of which, *Lo* and *B,* are still extant. The third, which we label alpha, is the common source of *QFKMg, QF* for the entire work, *KMg* for *Particulae* I and II only. *Q* seems to have diverged from this group first. *FKMg* share many readings not in *Q,* and *KMg* are so close that only a common source will account for their similarity. Beginning with *Patricula* III, *K* and *Mg* cease to exhibit their close relationship to *QF* (which, however, continue to share readings with each other) and frequently agree with *Pe, T,* or both. *Pe* was copied directly from *B,* and *T* is descended from *Lo,* though not directly and with some influence from *Pe.* We therefore posit a MS *t* (in fact a shorthand designation for a more complicated state of affairs), descended from *Lo* with considerable influence from *Pe,* which was the exemplar of *T* and of *KMg* for *Particulae* III and IV. The other codices are all descended from *B,* but not by way of *Pe.* We therefore posit a copy of *B,* which we designate beta, slightly corrected and including the marginalia but not the concordantial signs[15] (which are only in *B* and *Pe*). From this copy came $MLERR_7P$. A significant number of variants are shared by all members of this family. The exemplar of *ER* copied the marginalia in one version, that of *MLP* in another, closer to the original. *MLP,* in addition to sharing many readings, are alone in adding the coda: "quam nobis concedat, qui sine fine vivit et regnat. Amen, et cetera," at the end of the work.

P is the least corrupt member of this family. *L* has been extensively corrected against an example of another family (since matter is supplied which is lacking in all other members of this group). Neither *L* nor *M,* which are quite close, includes Grosseteste's marginalia. Both *E* and *R,* which are also extremely close, do contain them in a very similar form. Additionally, *E* had access to a MS very close to *B,* perhaps beta, from which it was frequently corrected. R_7 is a puzzle. It is definitely a member of this family, but it does not share readings consistently with any other particular member of the family. Our stemma shows it coming directly from beta, but this only means that it is not clearly related to any one of the other members. *M* is also a problem. Although it is clearly very

[15] See above, note 4.

close to *L,* it somehow manages to share mistakes with every other member of the family, and in a variety of combinations. We are unable to give a satisfactory explanation for this. Of the excerpts or incomplete copies of *De cessatione legalium,* only one has a demonstrable relationship to any other extant manuscript. R_5 seems to have been copied from *Mg. A* is clearly related to the alpha family but was not copied from any extant codex. The other two codices, *S* and *W,* are related to the beta family.

Our study of these MSS shows an abiding and often intense interest in *De cessatione legalium* from the time it was written to the present day. Two extant MSS (*B* and *Lo*) date from Grosseteste's own lifetime, and a third (*Pe*) is also very possibly of the thirteenth century; and the treatise seems to have been known to Roger Marston[16] in the late thirteenth century. The fourteenth century was the period of greatest interest in the work; ten of the eighteen known MSS were written during this period, and John Wyclif cites it frequently in his *De veritate sacrae scripturae.*[17] But interest in the treatise continued into the fifteenth century with MSS *Mg, K, S, W,* and R_5. We know of no copies or citations during the sixteenth century, but the re-admission of the Jews to England under Cromwell renewed interest in both the "Jewish question" and Grosseteste's *De cessatione legalium* and led to the printing of *Particula* I in 1658 and Edward Brown's excerpts in 1690. These printed versions were not the first attempts to excerpt from the entire work. Four of the manuscript books of the treatise are either excerpts or summaries. The marginalia of the MSS attest to continuing close study of the treatise in the eighteenth century. At least one (*F*) and possibly two (*Q*) MSS of it were known to Grosseteste's eighteenth-century biographer Samuel Pegge. In our own day, Dr. Lee M. Friedman's ownership of *F* and his use of it in his *Robert Grosseteste and the Jews,* as well as his lending it to Arthur M. Lee to provide the basic text for Lee's partial edition of the work in 1942, brings the story up to our own day. No other work of Grosseteste's, with the possible exception of his *Commentary on the Posterior Analytics,* was to have such an enduring and significant influence on the thought of subsequent ages.

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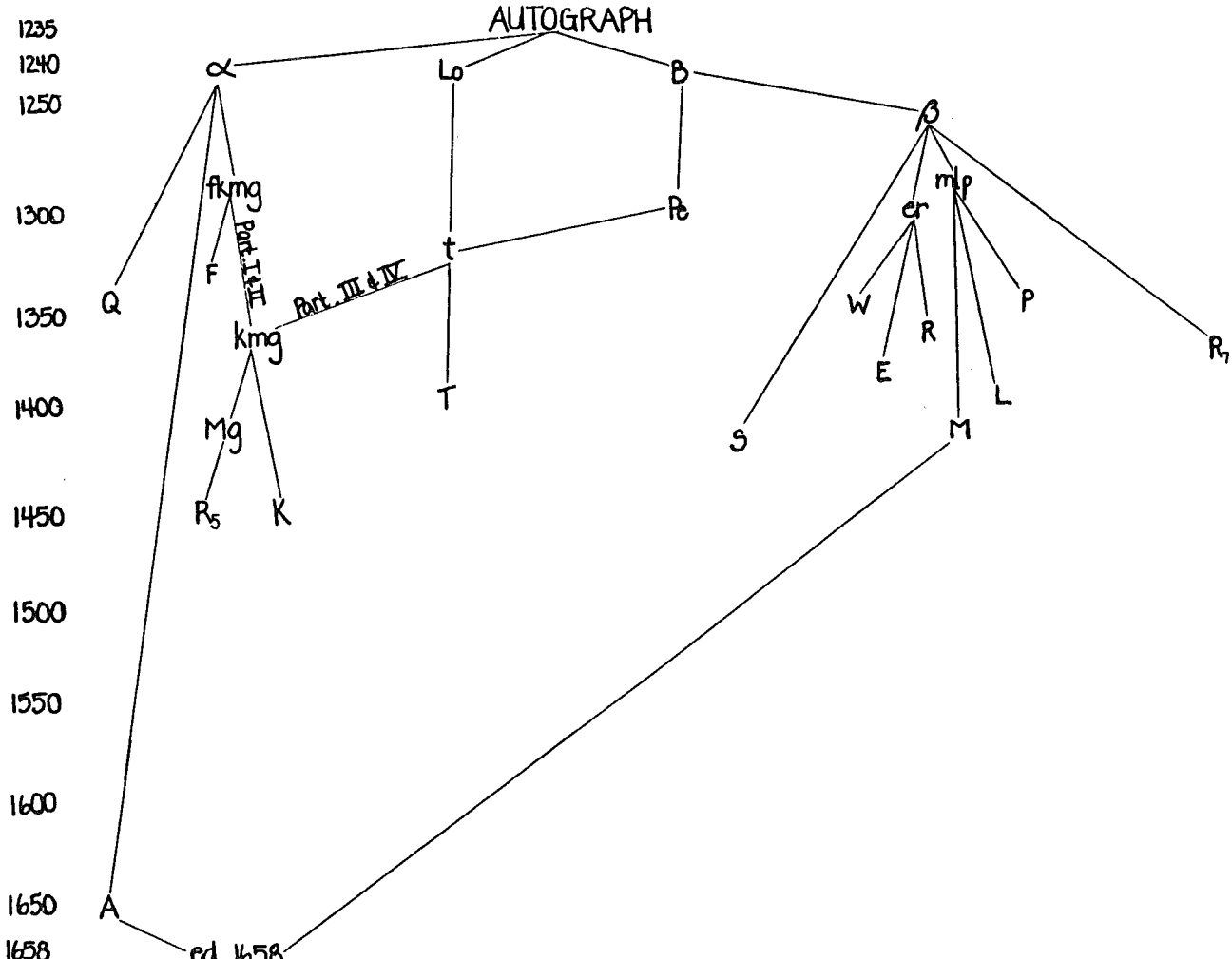
[16] Roger Marston, *Quodlibet* II, q.3, ed. Girard Etzkorn and Ignatius Brady, *Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi* 26 (1968), 104-146, on pp. 105, 115-19, 128-30.

[17] *John Wyclif's De veritate sacrae scripturae,* ed. Rudolph Buddensieg (London, 1907, repr. 1966), III, 104-207. See Beryl Smalley, "The Biblical Scholar," in D.A. Callus, ed. *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 94-95, and S.H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste,* p. 121.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